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SUBMISSIONS

This periodical is only as substantial as the material it contains: therefore, we more than welcome any contributions that members of the academic community might wish to make. Articles we would be most interested in publishing include those addressing Romantic literary studies with an especial slant on book history, textual and bibliographical studies, the literary marketplace and the publishing world, and so forth. Papers of 5–8,000 words should be submitted by the beginning of April or October in order to make the next issue, if accepted. Any of the usual electronic formats (e.g. RTF, Microsoft Word, WordPerfect, HTML) are acceptable, either by post or e-mail. Submissions should be sent to Dr Anthony Mandal, Centre for Editorial and Intertextual Research, ENCAP, Cardiff University, Humanities Building, Colum Drive, CARDIFF CF10 3EU. Wales (UK), mandal@cardiff.ac.uk.
In 1826, Mary Shelley recalled the Summer of 1814 as ‘incarnate romance’, when ‘a new generation’ of youthful travellers with ‘time and money at command’, yet heedless of ‘dirty packets and wretched inns’, ‘poured, in one vast stream, across the Pas de Calais into France’.¹ Though this first rush was interrupted by Napoleon’s return from Elba, Waterloo signalled the start of an even more frenzied exodus of patriot tourists, eager to comb the battlefield for souvenirs or survey the spoils of empire in the French capital, now under allied control.² It is estimated that some 15,512 British tourists and residents were present in Paris alone during 1815,³ while, at home, accounts began appearing in print. By 1817, the Edinburgh Review commented:

The restoration of peace has, as might have been foreseen, produced a vast number of Books of Travels. When our countrymen are pouring in swarms over every part of the Continent, carrying with them their sons fresh from College, and their daughters full of romance, and eager for composition—when countries which, two or three years ago, were wholly locked up from our inspection, or only accessible to persons of a more than ordinarily adventurous spirit, now lie as invitingly open to the sober citizen and his worthy family, as Margate or Brighton, it could not but follow that the press should groan with many a Tour—much Travel—and sundry masses of Letters that never paid postage.⁴

John Scott, editor of The Champion Magazine, whose A Visit to Paris in 1814: Being a Review of the Moral, Political, Intellectual and Social Condition of the French Capital (1815) quickly sold out five editions, argued that the English were distinguished by a ‘travelling propensity’, giving mobile expression to ‘a freedom and custom, as well as a power to think’.⁵ Like other self-congratulatory travel books published in those early years, Scott’s celebrates the English tourist’s observing eye, penetrating, sifting, connecting, and calling attention to itself
and its own hermeneutic virtuosity (in pointed contrast to French theatricality and love of surfaces that Scott observes everywhere in Paris). According to Scott, this propensity explains why ‘the literature of Britain is richer than that of all other nations put together, in narratives of those excursions, that have had no other object but to gratify an elastic spirit [...]. Our book-shelves groan with the travels of persons who have suddenly arisen from almost every class and profession of life, to go their ways into almost every other country, as well as into every parish of their own’.⁶

Not everyone was so sanguine about this reputed Malthusian increase of travellers and travel writers, especially those originating from every, or any ‘class and profession’, not to mention gender. A reviewer of Mary Shelley and Percy Shelley’s anonymous account of their continental pedestrian tours, *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* (1817), lamented the demise of class certainties encoded in the eighteenth-century Grand Tour: ‘The dashing milords of the last age are now succeeded by a host of roturiers, who expatriate themselves for the sake of economy’.⁷ William Jerdan wrote a cautionary roman-à-clef, aptly entitled *Six Weeks’ in Paris; or, A Cure for the Gallomania* (1817), arguing that the weak-minded and unwary could easily be drawn into a vortex of vice, tolerated by French moral passivity yet fatal to English ingenuousness. In Jerdan’s novel and other travel accounts of Paris, the Palais Royal embodies this fascinating, yet dissipating attraction—Edward Planta’s otherwise factual tone in his guidebook, *A New Picture of Paris* (1814), erupts into admonitions that the Palais Royal comprised ‘a little world [...] every thing to inform the understanding, and every thing to corrupt the heart’.⁸ The Reverend John Wilson Cunningham’s *Cautions to Continental Travellers* (1818) cries out against the travelling vogue as both a drain on the British economy and, more crucially, the means of undermining English national character through the importation of French manners, habits, and scepticism. Cunningham estimates that upwards of 90,000 men and women had departed England for continental destinations since 1814, induced by a vague desire to participate in the ‘advantages of travel’ ‘blazoned in volumes of all sizes and complexions [...] traced in ink, sketched in mezzotinto [...] painted in every hue’.⁹ While Scott celebrated the travelling propensity of all classes, Cunningham urged that there was cause for alarm; the expanding profile of travellers ‘most susceptible’ to ‘new impressions’ include the indolent, the young, females, and ‘the subordinate classes of society’ (even the ‘middling classes’ might ‘transplant to the desk and the counting-house’ the ‘empty heads, and hollow hearts, and sceptical opinions’ that caused the excesses of the French Revolution).¹⁰ The motives for travel, Cunningham argued, were no longer sufficiently serious, the moral and social consequences potentially devastating.

Taken together, such anecdotal accounts give the picture of a new continental travelling vogue, with groaning presses adding ever more titles to bookshelves already groaning under the weight of British travel writing. We might plausibly expect a spike in the proportion of new travel writings that concern conti-
nental destinations, with a disproportionate emphasis on the Low Countries and France in the aftermath of Waterloo; that author profiles might begin to reflect the class and gender diversity which so exercised commentators; or at least that travel writings would register growing awareness of the exigencies and pressures of mass tourism. Yet contemporary commentary raises as many questions as it purports to answer. What proportion of total book production can be accounted for by travel writing, and of this how much is comprised of continental tours (as opposed to domestic tours or accounts of other world regions)? Are there concentrations in or patterns of regional coverage? How popular is travel writing in comparison to other literary genres (and what is meant by ‘travel writing’ in the first place)? What sub-genres are there (e.g. letters, journals and diaries; agricultural, picturesque, geological tours) and what were the bestsellers? Who were the travel writers, and from what specific classes and professions do they ‘suddenly arise’? Who were the Chatwins and Rabans of the day, professional travel writers known as masters of the craft, as opposed to those whose productions in the genre were opportunistic or ephemeral? How much of an impact did translation have in the home marketplace; what titles were selected, by whom, and why? Who were the publishers of travel writing, and how did their lists respond to social trends and political events?

The burgeoning scholarship on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travel writing has drawn attention to selected travel writers, genres, and the rhetorical structures of travel writing, while providing social, cultural, and political contexts for understanding the production of this work, but criticism remains sketchy on the bibliographical and statistical evidence that underpins ‘travel culture’.¹¹ As Nigel Leask has recently observed, ‘the popularity of travel books during the decades [from 1770 to 1840], although universally acknowledged, is hard to quantify’.¹² Charles L. Batten’s claim that travel writing ‘won a readership second only to novels by the end of the [eighteenth] century’, according to Leask, ‘seems credible’, though Batten’s conclusions are based on compelling anecdotal evidence (especially the comments of reviewers) and extrapolations from Paul Kaufman’s report on borrowing figures from the Bristol Library between 1773 and 1784.¹³ Published bibliographical evidence is scanty and often inaccurate. Edward G. Cox’s *A Reference Guide to the Literature of Travel* (3 vols, 1935–49) remains the most comprehensive travel bibliography available, though one that antedates the powerful search engines provided by such electronic resources as the *English Short Title Catalogue* (ESTC), the *Nineteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* (NSTC), and the *OCLS WorldCat* on-line database. Cox gives a fair representation of travel-related books published in English since the dawn of printing, as well as many helpful textual annotations, yet his volume on Europe stops at 1800, his regional categories are often too inclusive for specialised use, nearly all his entries lack imprint details, and there are many errors and omissions. The third volume, devoted solely to Great Britain, neglects Ireland altogether. Travel bibliographers since Cox have focused on special topics, usually regional in focus. The best of these include Shirley Weber’s
Voyages and Travels in Greece, the Near East and Adjacent Regions Made Previous to the Year 1801 (1953), Richard Sydney Pine-Coffin’s Bibliography of British and American Travel in Italy to 1860 (1974), and Peter Bicknell’s The Picturesque Scenery of the Lake District, 1752–1855 (1990). While adding pieces to the jigsaw, these studies cannot possibly provide a cumulative overview of travel writing trends. More promising is the catalogue accompanying the Corvey microfiche edition of travel writing, English Travel Literature in the Micro-Edition of the Fürstlichen Bibliothek Corvey (1998), though this listing reflects the strengths and weaknesses of the Corvey Library itself, a collection concentrated on the 1820s and early 1830s.

The checklist of ‘The European Tour, 1814–1818 (Excluding Britain and Ireland)’, presented here, offers for the first time a reasonably complete listing of all travel-related books concerning the continental tour, published in the British Isles between 1814 and 1818 (the only exceptions being books published in English abroad, but intended for British tourists). Comprising 180 first editions arranged by publication date, this bibliography can provide foundations from which to test the anecdotal information quoted above and can go some way towards answering the supplemental questions that I have posed. The checklist is drawn from a larger project now some ten years in development, Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840 (BBTW), the identification phase of which is nearing completion. BBTW aims to provide the first reliable database of all travel books published in the British Isles during the years 1780–1840, with functions for categorising entries by author, chronology, regional coverage, publisher, and place of publication. BBTW will also include short biographical notices on each of its authors, together comprising a complementary database: A Biographical Dictionary of British Travel Writers and Translators, 1780–1840. The only other specialist dictionary of this kind is British Travel Writers, 1837–1875 (Dictionary of Literary Biography, vol. 166, 1997), with only three years of overlap. The aims and scope of the Biographical Dictionary are also different from the Encyclopedia of Travel and Exploration (3 vols, 2003), which concentrates on the best-known travellers and incorporates others into regional articles. Only about one hundred of the 2,260 authors identified by BBTW so far are given separate entries in the Encyclopedia, and these do not always include the period’s most successful writers.

Travel writing is notoriously difficult to define: Mary Campbell calls it ‘a genre composed of other genres’, while Jan Borm has more recently concluded that ‘it is not a genre, but a collective term for a variety of texts both predominantly fictional and non-fictional whose main theme is travel’.¹⁴ Drawing on Hans Robert Jauss’s ideas about ‘dominant aspects’ of mixed genres, Borm goes on to define the travel book as ‘any narrative characterized by a non-fiction dominant that relates (almost always) in the first person a journey or journeys that the reader supposes to have taken place in reality while assuming or presupposing that author, narrator and principal character are but one or identical’.¹⁵ While the majority of books in the present checklist, and in BBTW as a whole,
conform to and confirm this definition, a great many titles have been included in which actual travel is presented in the third person (e.g. guidebooks and traveller’s aids) or organised in non-narrative forms (e.g. essays and viewbooks). I have also focused on non-fictional travel prose, excluding fictional works (e.g. Byron’s *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage*) and non-fictional travel verse (e.g. Moore’s *Italy*), though works like these form integral components for our understanding of the period’s culture of travel and were sometimes used as travel guides themselves. For the purposes of selecting titles for inspection, then, I have used the following criteria (listed in order of importance):

1. First-hand accounts of actual travels or residences abroad, including translations, new editions of older material, campaign journals, and shipwreck, castaway, and captivity narratives.
2. Travellers’ aids, including itineraries, guidebooks, ‘companions’, road manuals, regional descriptions, and atlases (when accompanied by letterpress).
3. Collections, anthologies, digests, abridgements, and histories of travel and exploration, including travel compendiums designed for children, and biographies of travellers.
4. View books (collections of engravings and etchings accompanied by letterpress).
5. ‘Virtual’ tour books accompanying panoramas and exhibitions.

The Identification/Location phase of *BBTW* involves the identification and location of all possible titles, printings, and editions, ascertaining as much information as possible through secondary sources, principally the ESTC and NSTC, but supplemented by existing bibliographies, library databases, listings and reviews in periodicals, circulating library catalogues, and stack searches (thirteen titles derived from these sources but not in the NSTC appear in the checklist below). To date, the *BBTW* database contains 2,260 author entries, 3,742 title entries (i.e. first editions), and 5,811 text entries (i.e. inclusive of all editions and reprints). The next phase of the project will be to inspect each title entry in order to transcribe accurately the title page and imprint, and gather information on physical description and general content, particularly regional coverage. Non-extant entries will be corroborated against other secondary sources, such as circulating library catalogues, to prevent the inclusion of ghost titles.

The current checklist suggests a number of intriguing statistics when placed in the context of total travel book production in the years 1813-18 (see Table 1). As might be expected from contemporary commentary, there is a spike in book production for all regions (including extra-European travels) from a total of 61 in 1813 to 88 in 1814. Thereafter, total production continues evenly until 1817-18 when there is a second rise from 92 to 137. Surprisingly, the figure for books
on continental travel (excluding Britain and Ireland) actually declines slightly between 1814 and 1817 with only a modest recovery in 1818. During the same period titles concerning Britain and Ireland slowly but steadily increase their market share, and the spike in overall production registered in 1818 is largely accounted for by the dramatic increase in domestic and Irish titles from 37 in 1817 to 64 in 1818, and by a sharp increase of titles on extra-European regions from 24 to 39 (compare this to the very modest recovery of continental travels from 31 to 34, still substantially below the figures of 42 and 40 for 1814 and 1815 respectively). Thus, there is remarkable consistency in the period covered by the checklist in terms of the market share of travel writings when taken as a whole and when taken as a sub-unit measure of European travel writing including Britain and Ireland. Taken separately, however, the decreasing market share of continental travel books belies the impression among reviewers and travel writers that the opposite was the case. The reasons for this counter-intuitive result require more investigation. Perhaps there is some truth to one reviewer’s claim in 1821 that travellers ‘sent forth […] with the design of recording their adventures’ rarely ‘deviated from the most frequented routes’: ‘We hardly, indeed, can recollect above two or three who have written upon anything beyond the limits of the Grand Tour’. With travel writers (and readers) interested most in the remnants of the Grand Tour, we might expect a glut of writings on the most fashionable destinations, but correspondingly less emphasis on peripheral regions to take up the slack. As for the steady increase after 1814 of domestic and Irish travel books, we might surmise that increasing travel was partly a result of post-war economic reorganisation, or perhaps that foreign travel spurred the taste for travel closer to home, either from those who could not afford more distant destinations or those who returned from their experiences abroad reinvigorated with the urge to journey.

Table 1: Travel Book Production, 1813–18: New Titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1813</th>
<th>1814</th>
<th>1815</th>
<th>1816</th>
<th>1817</th>
<th>1818</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continental Tour</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain and Ireland</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Regions (World)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>61</strong></td>
<td><strong>88</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>85</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>137</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840

To some extent, the first hypothesis is borne out by patterns of regional coverage in the census period, where titles conform more closely to expectations (see Table 2). The height of interest in France occurs in 1814 when 22 titles appeared and the figures then taper off only slightly with 19 titles treating France (especially Paris) in 1817. Reader interest evidently reached
saturation levels, for in 1818 there is a sudden drop to only six titles, giving credence to Mary Shelley’s recollection that ‘when France palled on our travelled appetites, which always crave for something new, Italy came into vogue’.¹⁷

**Table 2: Regional Coverage of Travel Books on Europe, 1814–18**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>1814</th>
<th>1815</th>
<th>1816</th>
<th>1817</th>
<th>1818</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Austrian Dominions</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Denmark</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German States</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland, Netherlands, etc.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian States, inc. Elba</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portugal</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prussia</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia in Europe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey in Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840*

The figures show that Italy was already somewhat in vogue, with 1818 duplicating levels of coverage achieved in 1815 (though the majority of the titles under the previous year, 1814, concern Elba, the site of Napoleon’s first exile). However, interest in Italy soon reached the levels of France in 1814–15, peaking at 22 in 1820. The trend thereafter was downwards, but British readers remained more intrigued by Italy than France with nearly twice as many new titles appearing yearly throughout the 1820s. Among the other regions covered by travel books during 1814–18, only the Netherlands and Switzerland show a modest but steady increase, with the former peaking in 1817, the latter in 1818. Because of the popularity of the Rhine tour, the German states also put in a good showing, with the anomalous exception of 1816. The reinvigoration of the Rhine tour after 1816 owes a great deal to Byron’s Rhine stanzas in *Childe Harold*, Canto III, published in November 1816, a touchstone quoted or alluded to regularly by subsequent travel writers including the Shelleys (Checklist no. 17/23) and Charles Dodd (no. 18/10).¹⁸ One can also see how the Shelleys’ *History of a
Six Weeks Tour through a Part of France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland: With Letters Descriptive of a Sail round the Lake of Geneva, and of the Glaciers of Chamouni (1817) was on the face of it a shrewd venture, capitalising on interest generated by Byron and the regions mentioned on the title page. But Percy Shelley began negotiating with his publisher, Hookham, late in the year. When the History appeared in November 1817, interest in France and Holland had already peaked, and the Shelleys must have hoped (in vain) that the Swiss letters would carry the day.¹⁹

The vast majority of titles in the checklist are what I call personal witness narratives (75%), including letters, journals, and ‘notes’ on tours actually conducted by the named or implied author. The second most sizable category is traveller’s aids, such as itineraries, guidebooks, and sailing directions (15%). View books exhibiting watercolours, engravings, and lithographs form a smaller category, along with ‘virtual’ tour guides designed to accompany popular panoramas, such as Henry Aston Barker’s venue in the Strand (6%). Finally, there are several examples of traveller’s advice books (2%) and several more intended for children (2%). A significant subset of personal witness narratives concerns sites and topics of military and scientific interest. Several are captivity narratives written by former prisoners of war, or by civilian detainees who had fallen foul of Napoleon’s closed border policy during the war years (see Checklist nos 14/12, 14/26, 14/27, 16/10). A number of other titles give eyewitness accounts of major military campaigns in the Spanish peninsula (see nos 15/15, 15/22, 16/6, 18/25), Russia (nos 14/23, 15/28), or elsewhere (no. 15/36), and several more tourists devote extended coverage to on the spot reconstructions of the battle of Waterloo (see nos 15/35, 16/1, 16/14, 16/27, 16/29, 17/6). A smaller subset consists of scientific investigations and research, notably those of Greek Revivalists such as William Gell, William Martin Leake, and William Wilkins on sites of Magna Græcia in Italy and on Greece itself (see nos 14/24, 14/31, 16/33, 17/3, 17/10, 18/17). Traveller’s aids include a number of translated imports such as The Post-Roads in France (1814; 1816) (nos 14/7, 16/7), Reichard’s An Itinerary of France and Belgium (1816) (no. 16/26), and Mariano Vasi’s A New Picture of Rome (1818) (no. 18/33). The important Paris-based English language publisher, Galignani, also brought out the immensely popular and much copied guidebook, Picture of Paris (1814; 6th edn, 1818), available to travellers en route from the famous reading room on rue Vivienne (see no. 14/16, and nos 18/14, 18/15, 1816 for other Galignani guides).²⁰ Popular homegrown versions included Edward Planta’s A New Picture of Paris (1814; 10th edn, 1818) (no. 14/29), Edmund Boyce’s The Belgian Traveller (1815) (no. 15/14), and Henry Coxe’s Picture of Italy (1815) (no. 15/21).

The checklist includes 18 translations from the French, six from the German, one from Italian, and one from the Russian, a total of 26 (14%). This would suggest that the vaunted Englishness of the ‘travel propensity’ did not stop writers from imitating foreign models or readers from being interested in foreigners’ accounts. Several translations concern earlier matter (nos 14/22, 16/19,
16/31, 17/18), notably Louis-Sebastien Mercier’s *Paris* (1818) (no. 17/18), which draws on his *Tableau de Paris* (1781), the prototype in fact for most of the British guidebooks to Paris trading under the name of *Pictures or New Pictures* (e.g. nos 14/16, 14/29, 14/38). The taste for past pictures is also attested to by the captivity and campaign literature already mentioned, as well as various comparative studies such as William Shepherd’s *Paris, in Eighteen Hundred and Two, and Eighteen Hundred and Fourteen* (1814) (no. 14/34) and Stephen Weston’s *Slight Sketch of Paris* (1814) (no. 14/41), detailing the changes between Paris during the Peace of Amiens and Paris after the war. Sir Richard Colt Hoare operated a small private industry by publishing limited editions of *Recollections*, treating his European tours of the 1780s and 1790s (nos 15/25, 17/12, 17/13, 18/20). Even Hoare’s *Hints to Travellers in Italy* (1815) (no. 15/25), published by John Murray, seems rooted in the past, giving outdated advice on passports and posting routes, and recommending pre-war maps and guides. Cornelius Cayley’s *Tour through Holland, Flanders, and Part of France* (1815) (no. 15/17) represents a special case, included in the checklist despite the possibility of its being based on a first edition of 1777. Whether the ‘Cornelius Cayley Jun.’ of the title page reworked his father’s text after conducting a tour of his own or whether the volume is a reissue cannot be determined in advance of inspection, but even if the latter, the ‘new edition’ would have had considerable novelty value with a new generation of readers.

It is worth reconsidering at this point Batten’s impression that travel writing ‘won a readership second only to novels’ at the end of the eighteenth century. Figures for novel production, now available through the CEIR database, *British Fiction, 1800–1829*, would suggest that by the early nineteenth century this trend was reversed: between 1814 and 1818 an average of 38.4 new novels per year were published, compared with 98.8 travel titles (36 tiles on the continental tour alone). Among the novels listed in the *British Fiction* database, several in this period imitate the travel genre, particularly satires and comic novels like *The Observant Pedestrian Mounted; or, A Donkey Tour to Brighton* (1815) (DBF no: 1815A011), *Modern Manners; or, A Season at Harrowgate* (1817) (DBF no: 1817A006), Eaton Stannard Barrett’s *Six Weeks at Longs* (DBF no: 1817A035), and William Jerdan’s *Six Weeks in Paris* (1817) (DBF no: 1817A035). Jerdan’s novel imitates travel description so well that one suspects that it is based on an actual journey or incorporates contemporaneous travel accounts into its texture, and the extent to which novels become de facto travel narratives requires further research. Madam de Staël’s *Corrine, ou Italie* (1807) is perhaps the most well-known example of such a cross-over genre, one read by countless British travellers on the spot in Rome: John Chetwode Eustace, author of the popular *Classical Tour through Italy* (3rd edn, 1815), remarked that *Corinne* was ‘the best guide or rather companion which the traveller can take with him’ as de Staël inspires the reader ‘with that lofty temper of mind, without which we can neither discover nor relish the great and beautiful in art or in nature’. There also must be other novels like Mary Shelley’s *Frankenstein* (1818) (DBF no:
1818A057), which incorporates travel letters and journals from her 1814 and 1816 continental tours into various scenes (e.g. Victor’s encounter with the monster on the Mer de Glace; or Victor and Clerval’s Rhine journey). Mary Shelley was also not alone in writing both novels and travel books. Other travel writers in the checklist who wrote in both genres during the same period include John William Cunningham (Checklist no. 18/9; DBF no: 1816A024), Lady Morgan (no. 17/20; DBF no: 1814A045), Walter Scott (no. 16/30; DBF no: 1814A054), and Ann Yossy (no. 15/40; DBF no: 1818A062).

Like Morgan, Shelley, and Yossy, the majority of women writing about the continental tour were professional writers, with several earning renown through travel writing in particular. Helen Maria Williams’s Narrative of the Events Which Have Taken Place in France (1815) (no. 15/39) was only her latest instalment of travel writing; her first travel book, Letters written in France (1790), was expanded into seven volumes from 1793 to 1796; she published a tour of Switzerland in 1796 that included comparisons with Paris in the 1798 edition; and in 1814–29, she produced her magisterial seven volume translation of Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von Humboldt’s Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent. Though travel writing dominated her career, Williams was also a notable novelist, poet, and journalist. Mary Anne Schimmelpenninck turned to travel writing to earn her livelihood, publishing a compilation, Narrative of a Tour to La Grande Chartreuse and Alet, by Dom. Claude Lancelot, in 1813. After touring the continent in 1815, she published her second and last travel book, Narrative of the Demolition of the Monastry of Port Royal des Champs (1816) (no. 16/28), but continued writing books in fields such as aesthetics and theology. Charlotte Anne Eaton published only two travel books, but earned a substantial reputation through them. Her first, Narrative of a Residence in Belgium during the Campaign of 1815 (1817) (no. 17/6) gives one of the best accounts of the horrors of Waterloo; her second, Rome in the Nineteenth Century (3 vols, 1819) reached a fourth edition in 1826. She also published a semi-fictional novel, Continental Adventures (3 vols, 1826), based on her own experiences.

Nevertheless, women writers make up only a fraction of the total number of published travel writers, both in the checklist and in BBTW as a whole—only 10 checklist entries (5.5%) include women writers, though a few others may be masked by anonymous titles. To date, BBTW has identified 130 women travel writers, with the vast majority of these publishing after 1800. These figures are perhaps surprising given the amount of recent criticism focusing on women’s travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ Yet as late entrants into the marketplace of travel writing, women tend to be extra-conscious of literary fashions, even as they buck trends, test the limits of genre, and create fresh responses.²⁴ For example, Elisabeth Bohls holds that eighteenth-century women’s travel writing includes an emphasis on detail that challenges the aesthetic disinterestedness of ‘mainstream’ masculine travel writing and aesthetic theory; more recently, Jane Stabler has argued that women travel
writers on Italy display ‘the most inventive literary use of the picturesque […] [before] the huge expansion of continental travel in the Victorian era’.

The case of Mary Shelley and Percy Bysshe Shelley’s *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* is again particularly interesting in this context. The *History* is not only one of the relatively few travel books with a female author, but it is one of the much fewer books written by a female-male collaborative team. We know from the source journals and letters that this collaboration was complex. The Shelleys shared a travel journal and Mary Shelley borrowed freely from Shelley’s entries when revising the *History* for publication. While the 1814 journal portion of the *History* remains predominantly (though not unproblematically) Mary Shelley’s ‘work’, the book as a whole (which includes several of Shelley’s long letters from Switzerland and his poem ‘Mont Blanc’) is a much more balanced affair. For us, the textual evidence challenges Romantic notions of originality while testing the limits of gendered identity; for Romantic period readers the collaboration would have been almost unprecedented.

The Shelleys’ travel book also helps set something of a record. Before 1817, I can find no year covered by *BBTW* in which more than three new travel books by women writers appeared. In 1817, the *History of a Six Weeks’ Tour* was one of seven (with five represented on the checklist). 1818 and 1819 were relatively fallow years for women, but a record 12 new titles appear in 1820, after which women begin to achieve a more regular presence in the travel marketplace.

The examples of Williams, Morgan, and Eaton suggest that women were statistically more likely than men to capture the public mood and become popular (and controversial). Morgan’s *France* (1817) (no. 17/20) went through four editions in two years, its radical politics incurring the tribute of published scorn in the *Quarterly Review* and in William Playfair’s *France as It Is, Not Lady Morgan’s France* (2 vols, 1819). The polemics here point to the fact that post-Napoleonic travel accounts, particularly dealing with France, were as polarised as periodical journalism. The most popular liberal voices were those of Morris Birkbeck and John Scott. Birkbeck’s *Notes on a Journey through France* (1814) (no. 14/11) sold out five editions in two years, arguing from an agriculturalist’s point of view that Revolutionary and Napoleonic land reform had at last modernised an economy hopelessly moribund under the ancien régime. Frustrated at the pace of change at home, Birkbeck a few years later emigrated to America, publishing two more popular travel books that appealed to Keats, Shelley, Peacock, and many others (including George and Georgiana Keats, who heeded Birkbeck’s call for emigrants to set up liberal communities on the American frontier).

John Scott’s *A Visit to Paris in 1814* (1815; 5th edn, 1816) (no. 15/34) and its sequel, *Paris Revisited* (1816; 3rd edn, 1816) (no. 16/29), together sold eight editions in two years, making Scott one of the best known commentators on post-Napoleonic Paris (Cunningham quotes liberally from Scott in *Cautions to Continental Travellers*). Scott is better known today for his friendships with Leigh Hunt and Wordsworth, as well as his editorship of the *London Magazine* from 1820–21. It was Scott who championed the Cockney
School and paid for this with his life in a duel with Jonathan Christie, John Lockhart’s London agent for *Blackwood’s Magazine*. But Scott is one of the period’s best and most lively travel writers and reviewers, and deserves far more attention as a major figure in his own right. The same might be said for John Chetwode Eustace, whose *A Letter from Paris* (1814) (no. 14/15) upheld the anti-gallic end of the political spectrum with a vengeance, selling out a colossal ten editions in barely a year: the *Blackwood’s* contributor George Croly paid Eustace the tribute of virtually versifying *A Letter* in his *Paris in 1815: A Poem* (1817).²⁸ Eustace began publishing his travel writing late in life (on the advice of veteran traveller, Edward Daniel Clarke), but his success was unparalleled. His *A Tour through Italy* (1813), narrowly excluded from the checklist, became the vade mecum of Italian travel under the more renowned title of subsequent editions, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, a text that accompanied Byron and Shelley during their Italian sojourns.²⁹ Finally, though not exactly popular, Stephen Weston deserves honourable mention as one of the most prolific travel writers on the checklist. *A Slight Sketch of Paris* (1814) (no. 14/41) and *Two Sketches of France, Belgium, and Spa* (1817) (no. 17/31) are but two of twelve travel books spanning a travel writing career that began in 1776 and ended in 1824. Weston was in the unique position of having journeyed to Paris during the Revolutionary ferment of 1791–92, the Peace of Amiens in 1802, the period after Napoleon’s first abdication in 1814, and the post-Waterloo era in 1816—and to have written books on each of these visits.

Weston began his travelling career as a tutor or ‘bear leader’, as did Eustace, but both might be classified as religious professionals. Weston held the rectory of Little Hempston, Devon, from 1784 to 1823. Eustace trained as a Roman Catholic priest and was at one time responsible for the Midlands district under John Milner. Other writers on the checklist were non-conformists. William Shepherd (no. 14/33) practised as a Unitarian minister; Cornelius Cayley (no. 15/17) was a Methodist preacher; John Evans (no. 17/8) was a General Baptist minister; John Paterson and Ebenezer Henderson (no. 17/22) were Congregationalists who worked as missionaries for the British and Foreign Bible Society; Thomas Raffles (no. 18/28) was also a Congregationalist minister. Together with their Church of England counterparts these religious professionals make up the second largest profile of travel writers on the checklist (16 writers; accounting for 10% of total titles). The first largest group consists of military professionals, including sea captains (17; 10.6%), though the heightened interest at home in Napoleonic affairs may have inflated these figures at this period. In the third ranking are professional writers, including novelists, poets, and miscellaneous writers, a category dominated by women, as we have seen (9; 5%). Artists, including engravers and lithographers come next (7; 5%), followed by: leisured gentry (5; 7%); booksellers and publishers (4; 4%); diplomats and government agents (4; 2%); journalists and editors (2; 1.6%); architects (2; 1%); cartographers, geographers, and hydrographers (2; 1%); legal professionals (2; 1%); physicians (2; 1%); scholars (2; 1%). Other individuals might be described as archaeologist
(Gell, nos 17/9, 17/10, 1817); actuary (Mitchell, no. 16/25); astronomer (Beafoy, no. 17/2); clerk (Horne, no. 15/28); East India Company Serviceman (Barnes, no. 15/10); manufacturer (Wansey, no. 14/39); and merchant (Anon., no. 15/2). The vast majority of named and anonymous authors must remain anonymous until further research in later phases of BBTW can shed new light on them. What is clear is that the majority of the identified writers come from the professional classes and most are male, hardly resembling the profile of travellers that seemed so threatening to Cunningham in his Cautions.

The statistical data and summaries compiled here will have greater relevance once the identification phase of the Bibliography of British Travel Writing, 1780–1840 has been completed, and further information beyond the census dates and the regional limits of the following checklist can be collated. Nevertheless, the checklist should begin to answer some of those bibliographical problems that have hitherto eluded travel scholars, and I hope it will spur further investigations on sadly neglected travel writers, books, and genres. At very least, the checklist will provide fresh evidence that Romantic period anecdote must be treated with caution and tested against fact.

Notes

I wish to thank Peter Garside, Anthony Mandal, and David Skilton for the support they have given for this project, which also owes no small debt to the pioneering bibliographical work on the English novel conducted by Peter Garside, James Raven, Anthony Mandal, and other members of the CEIR research team.


6. Ibid., p. 3.

7. Review of [Mary Shelley and Percy B. Shelley], History of a Six Weeks’ Tour, in Monthly Review 88 (Jan 1819), 97—see Checklist no. 17/23, below.

(1819) for his analysis and as the source of his quotations, but mistakenly assumes that it resembled the 1st edn, which he describes as a ‘chunky little publication’ 4.5 cm in width (my 1st edn is 2 cm narrower, and lacks many of the anecdotal additions that inform Clark’s conclusions).


10. Ibid., pp. 10–19.


24. I should emphasise that I am speaking of published travel books; the extent to which women and men circulated manuscript travel letters and journals cannot be measured by *BBTW*.


26. The only collaboration before the Shelleys’ *History* is John Parker and Mary Ann Parker’s *A Voyage round the World, in the Gorgon Man of War. Performed and Written by Captain John Parker, His Widow, for the Advantage of a Numerous Family* (1795). On the checklist, I have followed the NSTC in listing John Henry Manners and Elizabeth Manners as joint authors of *Journal of a Trip to Paris by the Duke and Duchess of Rutland, July 1814* (1814) (no. 14/25), though my own inspection of this text would suggest that it is most likely the work of John Henry Manners, with Elizabeth Manners supplying drawings for coloured plates accompanying the text. The only other text that I can mention in this category is Giovanni Baptista Belzoni, 1778–1823, with Sara Belzoni, 1783–1870, *Narrative of the Operations and RecentDiscoveries within the Pyramids, Temples, Tombs, and Excavations, in Egypt and Nubia; and of a Journey to the Coast of the Red Sea, in Search of the Ancient Berenice; and Another to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon.—Mrs Belzoni’s Trifling Account of the Women of Egypt, Nubia and Syria—Appendix. An Explanation of Some of the Principal Hieroglyphics, Extracted from the Article Egypt in the Supplement of the Encyclopaedia Britannica; with Additional Notes* (London: John Murray, 1820).


28. For a comparison of Eustace and Croly, see ibid., pp. 48–50.

29. For further discussion of Eustace, see ibid., pp. 124–41.
II

The European Tour, 1814–1818

(Excluding Britain and Ireland): A Checklist

Titles that have been inspected include the library call number of the copy seen, preceded by a check plus sign [√+]). For those not inspected (the majority), every effort has been made to gather the fullest title details from the secondary sources acknowledged in each entry. In all cases, titles have been standardised in terms of capitalisation, as has the order of imprint details. The typical entry has the following format:

- Checklist No. Surname, Forename, Titles, Birth and Death Dates.
- Full title, including subtitles and author, but excluding epigraphs.
- Place(s) of Publication: Publisher/Bookseller details, date of publication.
- [Regional Content Codes];
- [dates of editions and printings, with first edition in bold, first original language editions of translations in bold and italics];
- [physical description];
- [periodical listings and reviews]; [bibliographical sources];
- [location(s), with a check plus (√+) indicating the actual copy inspected].

List of Abbreviations

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<td>British Library</td>
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Regions & Locations

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<td>AmN</td>
<td>North America</td>
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<td>As</td>
<td>Asia</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>Demark, incl. Iceland and Norway</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>France, incl. Savoy and Mont Blanc</td>
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Ge  German States, incl. Silesia
Gr  Greece
H  Holland, Netherlands, Flanders, Belgium, United Provinces, Batavian Republic
I  Italian States, incl. Dalmatia, Elba, Istria, Malta, Sicily
Po  Portugal
Pr  Prussia, incl. Poland
R  Russia in Europe, incl. Finland and Lapland
Sd  Sweden
Sp  Spain, incl. Gibraltar, Madeira, Minorca
Sw  Switzerland
T  Turkey in Europe, incl. Moldavia, Montenegro, Wallachia
U  Great Britain and Ireland

Other
2°  folio
4°  quarto
8°  octavo
12°  duodecimo
18°  octodecimo
lst.  listed in
rev.  reviewed by
s.  series
v. / vol.  volume

1814

14/1.  [Anon.] A Guide to Holland; Being a Journal of a Tour from London through Holland, and thence along the Left Bank of the Rhine, from Its Mouth in Holland to Mayence. [14H]; [lst. QR, 11 (Apr. 1814), 258]; [xNSTC].

14/2.  [Anon.] A Letter by an Englishman, Lately on His Travels in Italy; Written on His Return to England, in August, 1814. London: Printed for James Ridgway, 170, Picadilly, Opposite Bond-Street. 1814. [14I]; [14(2)]; [8°; pp. 43]; [NSTC; PC]; [√+Bodl 23695.e.56; BrL].


14/4.  [Anon.] Letters from Holland, during a Tour from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, Brill [...] Amsterdam &c. With [...] Tables of Exchange in Dutch and


14/6. [Anon.] Scenes in Russia Describing the Manners, Customs, Diversions […] of the Inhabitants of that Country […] Illustrated. London: J. & E. Wallis, 1814. [14R]; [14, 16]; [8°; pp. 117]; [NSTC]; [BrL].


14/12. Blayney, Andrew Thomas, Baron, 1770–1834. Narrative of a Forced Journey through Spain and France, as a Prisoner of War, in the Years 1810 to 1814. 2 vols. London: E. Kerby, 1814. [14F; 14Sp]; [14, 15]; [8°]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; CUL; UCSB].

14/13. Bridges, George Wilson. Alpine Sketches, Comprized in a Short Tour through Parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany, during the Summer of 1814. By a Member of the University of Oxford. London: Longman and Co., 1814. [14F; 14Ge; 14H; 14Sw]; [8°]; [rev. MR, (Sep. 1815), 75]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL].


14/16. Galignani, Giovanni Antonia, 1757–1821, John Anthony Galignani, 1796–1873, and William Galignani, 1798–1882. *Picture of Paris; Being a Complete Guide to All the Public Buildings, Places of Amusement, and Curiosities in that Metropolis; Accompanied with Seven Descriptive Routes, from the Coast to Paris; with Full Directions to Strangers, on Their First Arrival in That Capital. By M. Galignani*. Paris: Sold at Galignani’s Library, No. 18, rue Vivienne, where may be had the most valuable and rare books in all Languages. 1814. [i4F]; [14, 15, 18, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 37, 38, 39]; [18°]; [NSTC]; [BrL; √+BNF LK7–6109].

14/17. Hallbeck, Hans Pieter. *Narrative of a Journey through Part of the North of Germany, While Occupied by the French and Allied Armies, in the Summer of 1813*. Dublin: R. Napper, 1814. [i4Ge]; [12°; pp. 48]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL].


14/19. Hébert, Louis, and G. Dupont. *An Actual Survey and Itinerary of the Road from Calais to Paris, Shewing the Distance between Each Town and Village, in Miles and Furlongs, Surveyed with a Perambulation […] by L. Hébert, Geographer and G. Dupont, Engineer*. London: Printed by Schultz and Dean, 13, Poland Street, Oxford Street, for the Authors, 16 Noel-Street, Soho, 1814. [i4F]; [8°; pp. 96]; [NSTC]; [BrL].


14/25. Manners, John Henry, 5th Duke of Rutland, 1778–1857, and Elizabeth Howard Manners, 1780–1825. *Journal of a Trip to Paris by the Duke and Duchess of Rutland July MDCCCXIV*. London: Printed by T. Bensley, Bolt Court, Fleet Street, 1814. [14F]; [4°; pp. 30; 3 coloured plates]; [NSTC]; [√+Bodl 2Delta 135(1); BrL]; [Notes: Journal most likely the work of John Henry Manners; Elizabeth Manners contributed the drawings].


14/31. Rennell, James, Major, 1742–1830. Observations on the Topography of the Plain of Troy, and on the Principal Object within and around It Described or Alluded to in the Iliad. Shewing that the System of M. de Chevalier [...] Is Founded on a Most Erroneous Topography. London: G. & W. Nichol, 1814. [14T]; [4°]; [NSTC]; [BrL; Bodl].


14/33. Semple, Robert, 1766–1816. Observations Made on a Tour from Hamburgh, through Berlin, Gorlitz, and Breslau, to Silberberg: and thence to Gottenberg, Passing through the Late Head-Quarters of the Allied Armies. London: R. Baldwin, J. Murray, 1814. [14Ge]; [8°]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL; CUL; URL].


14/41. Weston, Stephen, F.R.S., 1747–1830. *A Slight Sketch of Paris; or, Some Account of the French Capital in Its Improved State, since 1802; by a Visiter.* London: Published by Robert Baldwin, Paternoster-Row. 1814. [14F]; [8°]; [NSTC]; [Βodl Douce PP88; BrL].

14/42. Wolff, Jens, fl. 1793. *Sketches on a Tour to Copenhagen, through Norway and Sweden, Interspersed with Historical and Other Anecdotes of Public and Private Characters. To Which Are Added an Appendix Relative to the Political State of Norway.* London, 1814. [14D; 14Sd]; [4°]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL; TrC].

1815

15/1. [Anon.] *A Picture of St. Petersburgh, Represented in a Collection of Twenty Views […] Taken on the Spot […] and Accompanied with an Historical and Descriptive Account.* London, 1815. [15R]; [2°]; [NSTC]; [Bodl; BrL; TrC].

15/2. [Anon.] *A Tour through Some Parts of Istria, Carniola, Styria, Austria, the Tyrol, Italy, and Sicily, in 1814. By a Young English Merchant.* London: Printed for Gale and Fenner, 1815. [15A; 15I]; [4°]; [possibly 1st edn of Baring, T., *Tour through Italy, 1815*]; [GKress 21114; NSTC; PC]; [Bodl; BrL].

*15/3. [Anon.] *Brief Memoir Respecting the Waldenses or Vaudois, Inhabitants of the Vallies of Piedmont; the Result of Observations Made during a Short Residence, amongst that Interesting People in the Autumn of 1814. By a Clergyman of the Church of England.* 2nd edn. London: Printed for J. Hatchard […] and Sold by Ogles, Duncan, and Cockran, 1815. [15F; 15I]; [12°]; [NSTC; 1st edn xNSTC; PC]; [BrL; UCL].

15/4. [Anon.] *Letters from France; Written by a Modern Tourist in that Country; and Descriptive of Some of the Mosi Amusing Manners and Customs of the French. With Characteristic Illustrations, from Drawings Taken on the Spot; by M. S.* London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by T. Sotheran, 1815. [15F]; [repr. 1893: possible attrib. Benjamin Rotch]; [NSTC]; [CUL; UCR].

15/5. [Anon.] *The Traveller’s Guide: Containing the Roads and Stations through France and Germany, the Distances of the Principal Cities from Each Other, and All the Interesting and Curious Objects Contained in Any of Them.* Amsterdam: Printed for E. Maaskamp, [1815?]. [15F; 15Ge]; [8°]; [GKress 21116.20; NSTC]; [BrL].

15/7. Baring, T. *A Tour through Italy, Sicily, Istria, Carniola, the Tyrol and Auštria in 1814*. [London], 1815. [15A; 15I]; [15, 17]; [Brand; xNSTC, but see Anon., *A Tour through Some Parts of Istria, Carniola […]*, 1815, as possible 1st edn].


15/10. Barnes, John. *A Tour throughout the Whole of France; or, New Topographical and Historical Sketch of All Its Most Important Interesting Cities, Towns […] Rivers, Antiquities, &c., Interspersed with Curious and Illustrative Anecdotes of the Manners, Customs, Dress, &c. of the Inhabitants*. London: William Darton, 1815. [15F]; [12°; pp. 112]; [NSTC]; [Bodl 203 g.385; BrL; CUL].


15/13. Bowdler, Thomas, F.R.S., 1754–1825. *A Short View of the Life and Character of Lieutenant-General Villettes, Late Lieutenant-Governor and Commander of the Forces in Jamaica. To Which Are Added Letters Writ-


15/16. Campbell, Charles. The Traveller's Complete Guide through Belgium, Holland and Germany; Containing a Particular Account of the Public Buildings, Places of Amusement, and Curiosities; with Accurate Tables of Distances in English Miles from One Town to Another; the Best Inns Pointed out, and a Description of Every Thing Worthy the Attention of Gentlemen, Lovers of the Fine Arts, and Travellers in General. London: Sherwood, Neely and Jones, 1815. [15Ge; 15H]; [15, 17]; [12°; pp. vi. 365]; [NSTC]; [BrL; NLS].


15/22. Cumberland, George, 1754–1848. *Views in Spain and Portugal Taken during the Campaigns of His Grace the Duke of Wellington, By George Cumberland, Jr., only 30 Copies Printed.* [nL], [?1815]. [15Po; 15Sp]; [2°]; [Hammond; NSTC]; [BrL].


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